Carangas-
Chipaya

/119 cont./

133 No one yet knows to what extent environment can influence
182 the religious conceptions of a human group, but if environment does indeed exercise the action on imagination which formerly was credited to it there can be no doubt that Cipaya mythology would have to abound in harsh and cruel elements. Life in the
[52] Carangas deserts is hard. The Indians are the first to acknowledge this, and they speak of their territory only with a dull bitterness: "these bare plains where we live," such is the expression which
133 most frequently recurs. Few regions have given me such an impression of emptiness as Chipaya. The mountains on the horizon rise on the plains as if emerging from the sea. The color of this territory is a uniform green verging on the grey cut by the dunes in a pale stroke.

This landscape would be most desperately monotonous without the escape afforded by the Kimsa chata, the three snowy summits which are glimpsed to the north. The Sajama, one of the most beautiful peaks of the Andes and which the Cipaya worship, is not visible from the village itself, Cerro Camacha hiding it from sight.

• 136 The small artificial lakes of Chipaya attract a considerable number of water birds of different species. The flamingos (parina) (Phoenicopterus añinus, Phil.) whose insipid meat is rightly disdained by the Indians and which abound in Chipaya bring the only lively note into the monotony of the landscape. Nothing is more impressive than a flock of these marvelous birds outlining themselves in red against the brilliant blue of the puna sky. The
237 Indians use their feathers to decorate their hats at the time of the
525 great festivals. The eggs of these flamingos must be associated
[182] with symbols of a religious or magical type for the Indians never fail to place one or two at the foot of the sacred sheaves which are one of the principal accessories of their pagan worships. I
[301] have even seen individuals who put on curious diadems made of flamingo eggs threaded together.

/119 cont./

Mammiferous animals are few in number. With the exception of a few vicuna I do not remember seeing any the whole extent of the "canton." Chipaya tales have a small rodent, the toxo (Ctenomys sp. or Octodon sp.) and the fox (Canis azarae, Wied). Further on a description will be given of a bloody sacrifice offered to a stuffed tiger cat (titi-mal'ku), promoted to the rank of protecting fetish of a group of huts. This feline is perhaps the Felis colocolo, Molina, which one meets at /120/ this altitude. Another protecting animal of the huts is a bird of prey reminiscent of our hawks, a stuffed specimen of which I also saw. Since, according to my interpreter, these mal'ku, or household spirits, are common in the whole Aymara area, it is quite possible that the examples preserved in Chipaya may have been sold to our Indians by Aymara peddlers who deal in magical substances and objects.

The village. The village (Map 2 /see p. 18a/) is divided into two parts separated by an entirely free zone about 230 meters wide in the middle of which stands the church with its attached chapels, the cemetery, and the prison. Each of these districts corresponds to a saya (Aymara word), an ancient territorial subdivision which we have already found in the Inca empire under the related name of suyu (1). This bipartite division of all the

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 19]

1. The division of Aymara communities into two sections was already mentioned in the sixteenth century. Cf. "Relación de la Provincia de los Pacajes /Report on the Province of the Pacajes/" (Relaciones geográficas de Indias, published by M. Jímenez de la Espada; Madrid, Vol. II, 1885, pp. 58-64), p. 58: "And the first thing the said Topa Yupangui did was to appoint caciques, chiefs,

/171 cont./

*539 192 193 1. píni means "many"; with hána it may be rendered by "no more"; učúmi, exclusive personal pronoun /172/ for the first person plural. 2. ʒalák, probably the Spanish chacra, "cultivated field"; the Uru do not have their own word to designate fields. 4. The ending čay added to a root gives it the verbal form. 6. xui, interrogative particle. 7. suche, [136] small kind of sheatfish from the Titicaca region; it is the [824] Trichomycterus dispar. 8. totora, Scirpus totora, the reeds of Lake Titicaca used by the Uru to build their balsas, cover their houses, and for other uses. 12. ke-, particle of repeti- [101] tion. 14. tòxʒa, literally "other persons," designates all men other than the Uru; nak' for náka, plural form of pronouns.

*539 392

II. Manufacture of Balsas from Totoras
(Account by Manuel Inta)

(See p. 154 /in the foreign text/)

Free Translation

1. Let us go, as is our custom, to find totoras to make a [283] balsa. 2. We are accustomed to go far to make the straw ropes /necessities/. 3. Three days are needed to dry (the straw ropes). 4. The straw ropes are well dried now. 5. Now all these totoras are well dried. 6. Let us make the balsa. 7. A man cuts the totora. 8. The totora is tied (in bolaches). 9. Three have to be made (bunches of totora): the heart (the middle spindle) and the two side spindles of the balsa. 10. We tie (the spindles); now we are going to squeeze them together very tightly, at first it takes two men to squeeze it together. 11. We have the custom of sprinkling (the totora) with water so that it does not dry. 12. Now we are going to tighten; to tighten we are accustomed to use a hook. 13. We beat (the totora) with /173/ a rock (in order to compress it).

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

Environment. The Rio Desaguadero, as its name implies, is the outlet of Lake Titicaca and flows roughly south to Lake Poopo.[6] Near the lake, where uptilted strata testify to a major geological upheaval at some time in the past, the river flows relatively swiftly through the rocky gate, but on reaching a broad valley between the range of foothills west of the Tiahuanacu plain and a corresponding range in Peru, it slows down considerably. The Desaguadero endlessly bifurcates as the river reaches the Uru swamps. The giant *totora*-reeds stretch higher than a man's head, and clumps of these are alive with numerous and almost tame waterfowl of many varieties, which apparently have never been hunted other than with *balsa*. In the clear, cold water of the river, dozens of varieties of water plants can be seen waving in the current, and in and out of these can be seen darting abundant fish—although these last belong to only about four or five varieties. Near the village half-wild cattle can be heard and occasionally seen plunging through the swampy shallows to eat the succulent white roots of the *totora* (the Uru have scant mainland pasturage for cattle or llamas). In the mountains back of their lands are pumas and vicuñas, but nearby there are only viscachas (a bushy-tailed, rabbit-eared rodent of the chinchilla family), the *altiplano* fox (Aymará *q'omaq'e*), and the domesticated guinea-pig.

The stony, dry soil at this altitude, when uncultivated, bears only *t'ola*, a kind of greasebrush used as a fuel, as is also *yareta*, a low, gray-green, semimediterranean mass suggesting a large, woody, resinous cauliflower; and a few small-flowered herbs. The altitude of the Uru country is about 12,000 feet, hence, though it is not far south of the Equator, the air is cold and rare. The rainy season, from late November to early March, comprises the summer. Although the middle of the day can be more than uncomfortably warm

[6] The best way to reach the Uru is to proceed northwest from Guaqui, on Lake Titicaca, by land over a small range of mountains or by water on the Lake, to the Strait village of Desaguadero, which straddles the river of that name at its head, being thus in both Peruvian and Bolivian territory. Balsas are the only means of transportation on the river, and it is imperative to secure experienced rivermen as guides through the elaborate waterways of the swamps in the middle Desaguadero. Stations on the river and the temporary loss of a baggage balsa in the swamp made it for me, my one half-breed and two native companions, a two-day trip, though it should normally be made in one long day's travel. Instead of hearing laboriously upstream on the return trip to the Lake, one may go by land cross-country north of Juana de Machaca. The cold, dry winds from the mountains in this region speedily reveal the minor inconvenience of chapped and bleeding lips, and in certain seasons it is a nuisance to find in travelling that rivers on which one had been depending for drinking water have dried up. Weapons, with which I stupidly neglected to provide myself, are probably more nearly necessary in this region than elsewhere in the altiplano. Bandelier noted conditions near Sicasica in 1898, and according to Bolivian authorities, the flesh of murdered whites was an employed during native uprisings as late as 1921 in this Juana de Machaca region.

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ture of the bundle. The whole is thrust vertically into the earth. The end of the bundle emerges a few centimeters above the surface of the water. They repeat the operation until a sufficiently compact weir is raised to hold the fish. The barrier has the form of an angle which opens in the direction of the current. The two wings are straight or curved slightly inward. They end in an opening about a meter wide whose edges, more resistant than the rest of the weir, are made of two bundles 20cm. in diameter. Unlike the others, these bundles have transverse ligatures a few centimeters above the surface. Facing this passage there is generally an islet of totora which protects the weir from the wind and to which the fisherman can attach his balsa. Here he places the net. He watches the fish that are engaged between the two barriers and thus conducted toward the net which closes the weir.

The Uru also make their *totora* sails to their boats into tent-like shelters over themselves when fishing. To drive the fish into their weirs, they attach bunches of reeds to a pole and agitate the water up and down.

Cord nets attached to a frame are also used in Uru fishing. The frame of this type of net (called *kalpaya*) is a tripod lashed at the divergent ends of the feet to a stick bent into a ring: these conical nets are quite large and about all one man can handle. Métraux further mentions a smaller rectangular-framed scoop net with a pole handle: "The Indian plunges this rectangular pocket into the water and remains standing or sitting until he sees interesting prey. He begins by lifting his net carefully, then pulls it out of the water with a rapid motion." The Uru also have large bottom-nets or drag-nets, which neither Métraux nor the author were able to see in use as they serve for fishing only in very deep water. These are trailed behind several balsas, their bottoms weighted with perforated stones, and require a number of persons to handle them.

In fishing for a species of *Trichomycterus* (*T. pictus*, Aymará *suli*), the Uru of the Desaguadero also use a spear, called *pini*, which has eight or so diverging spikes at its end on which the fish is impaled in shallow water.* Although fish are reasonably identified in Lake Titicaca and the Rio Desaguadero, Agassiz early noted the poverty in variety of the fauna: the genus *Orestias* of the family *Cyprinodontidae*, and the genus *Trichomycterus* of the family *Siluridae* comprise all the known species. The *Orestias* [= Aymará *carlajo*, *ispi*= ? Uru *ailhertala*] are minnow-size fish, viviparous, and of marked sexual dimorphism, which may account for the number and variety of

* Pomansky (pp. 77-78) believes that this term indicates affinities with Amazonian languages, among whom the root *pi-* means "fish," as in the fish names *piarúkhla*, *pira-manúkhla*, *pira-arara*, *pira-pitanga* ("spotted fish"), *pira-acuti* ("red fish" of great size, which is dried like charqui), *pira-tina*, *pira-cema* ("arboreal fish"), *piraiba* (the terrible disemboweled fish of tropical rivers which attacks even humans), *pira-acuti* ("big fish"), *pirarucinga* ("whistling fish"), *mandupiri*, etc.

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

native names for an exiguous a number of scientific varieties. These occur in the species: *O. Cuvieri*, *O. Pentlandi*, *O. Humboldti*, *O. Jussieui*, *O. Bairdii*, *O. Orbignii*, *O. frontosus*, and *O. Nieuwi*. Of the *Trichomycteri* (Aymara *suli*, *mauri*; Uru *lisi*) these species are present: *T. dispar Tschudi*, and *T. rivulatus*. Other native names for fish, which I have been unable to identify clearly with the scientific classifications are: (Aymará) *qesi-t'aqa*, *qesintwa*, *huri-mauri*, *umaxsi*, *kawali*; (Uru) *isri*, *is*, *t'aki*, *ok'ulu*, *t'alkiri*, and *wak'lali*—whence it appears that the natives give separate names to the male and female of the same species.

Fish are preserved and prepared in several ways. The smaller kinds (*ispi*, *salala*, *alkat'alak*), salted and toasted, are carried and eaten dry on journeys. The larger varieties (*suli*, *mauri*, *lisi*) are salted, scaled, boned, and stretched out between stones in a slow, smoky fire, and thus smoke-dried are preserved for periods of aridity, according to Posnansky. But what appears to be the same process, described by Palavecino, is evidently a method of cooking:

> These ovens, which the Uru call *wanku*, consist in a hole dug in the soil, whose depth, equal to the diameter, is about 60 cm. The rounded edge is raised at the surface of the ground, and the entire interior is plastered with clay. The Uru light a fire in it and introduce more or less flat stones. When the stones are incandescent, they take them out, all except those on the bottom. They lay on these a layer of fish, on which is placed a second bed of stones, then a layer of fish, and so on until the oven is full. It is closed with stones, and covered with mud. The fish is thus cooked by steaming.

Métraux notes that this is a very ancient type of earth oven in South America.

Hunting is almost as important to the Uru as fishing, neither of which is basic in Chipaya economy. The river marshes abound with birds of many kinds: waterhens (*wanku*, *kokpa*), ducks (*qaqa*), geese (*wañata*), loons (*pako*), herons (*allili*), various diving birds and gulls; a large unidentified black bird they call *limamba* or *lilimba*. Other unidentified birds are: *lalita*, *kaluwaina* (*waina* is Aymará for "youth, young man"), *allawa*, *t'orawi*. Of these aquatic birds, only the "baldo" (*pako*) is not hunted or eaten, because of its taste, very often. More frequently hunted is a kind of red duck called *p'oxoxoya*.

The Uru hunt birds by several methods. Posnansky says men hunting alone in the early morning disguise themselves in bunches of reeds, slowly approach the birds who are still stupefied by the cold of the night, then, grabbing them by the feet, they quickly kill the birds by biting the head or twisting the neck. The Uru are also users of slingshots woven or braided of variolored llama-wools, and they also use *bolas*, made with two large

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SF24 Uru SF24

sifiova) for the manufacture of grass rope. This I noted was of two kinds, depending on its use: three-element braid for *kalsa*, two-element true rope for twining the several kinds of mats, called *kawova*. The women make simple baskets too, or did until recently. These the women sell, as they do all other articles they manufacture.

The women spin (*qawoa*) llama-wool (*qawõi*) as incessantly as the men make grass rope. Usually they use a whorl or spindle, weighted with the yarn already spun wound around it, sometimes freely suspended as they walk along the road to market, sometimes with a bowl when sitting; but they spin between the palms also. This yarn they weave (*wa'*[*i*]) into a coarse cloth on simple tension looms staked to the ground. Both men's and women's clothing is made of this native homespun. I was told that the Uru do not weave so much as formerly, because of an obscure superstition that "it will go bad with them after death"; but I observed several looms in operation at Ancoaqui. The cloth is woven and rolled on one of the end bars until nearly all the warp is used up; then the weaving is done from the far end leaving an open space which is filled in with a large needle after the heald-rod is removed. That is, they weave from one end, and when nearly finished, they weave from the other. Only women use the native ground loom and the men the colonial Spanish crude foot loom. There were none of the latter in operation at Ancoaqui during my stay but the adobe frame of one foot loom observed was similar to those of the Aymára. The women's wide girdles or *lazi* are woven on looms also. The colors of the cloth are usually black or natural wool color but sometimes they buy modern coal-tar dyes for brighter colors in their *coca*-sacks and the like.

Knitting is probably not pre-Columbian, at least in the current styles, but the women are very skilful in knitting *gorros* of the Aymára type (Uru *lkora*), often with amazingly intricate animal figures and other designs. The men's slingshots are made of llama wool also, circular-braided in a number of very pleasing designs like the markings on snakes.* The felted wool hats I believe are not made by the Uru, but bought from the Aymára at Guaqui, Tiahuanacu and elsewhere. The Uru, however, do make thongs of twisted rawhide with the fur left on, as well as heavy "ixtas" or woolen ropes for lashing burdens on llamas and donkeys. The Uru *kolsi* (Aymará *lizu*, Uru *k'ooki*) use cords unlike those of the slingshots which are woven,

* Bandelier wrote (*The Islands of Titicaca and Koati*, New York, 1910) that there are no snakes on the *altiplano* whatsoever, but we killed a small one on the site of Bennett's diggings at Lacramarca on the southern shore of Lake Titicaca. It was about 18" long, with greenish-gray spots on its back. It is called *ccoto* in Aymará and grows to two or three feet in length.